

## Message Text

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R 100756Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2040  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 PRETORIA 4597

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SOPN, SF  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
AUGUST 8, 1978

REF: PRETORIA 4596

FOLLOWING IS VERBATIM TEXT OF SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE AMBASSADOR  
TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF  
COMMERCE, HELD AT THE WANDERERS CLUB, JOHANNESBURG ON AUGUST 8,  
1978: BEGIN TEXT:

MR. MAYOR, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:  
IT IS A VERY GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE TODAY, AND I WOULD LIKE  
TO SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I AM ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL FOR THIS  
OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE  
JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. NOT ONLY IS THIS A VERY  
DISTINGUISHED GROUP WITH SOME VERY DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, BUT AS A  
GROUP COMPOSED PRIMARILY OF BUSINESSMEN AND LEADERS FROM THE  
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FINANCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL HEART OF THE COUNTRY, YOU ARE  
IN A POSITION TO PLAY A UNIQUELY IMPORTANT ROLE IN SHAPING THE  
FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.  
BUSINESSMEN, ALTHOUGH FREQUENTLY LABELED AS CONSERVATIVE, ARE OFTEN  
IN THE FOREFRONT OF CHANGE. WHEN HE WAS HERE IN MAY, SENATOR  
HAYAKAWA OF CALIFORNIA SAID THAT, " A BUSINESSMAN WHO HAS A FACTORY  
OR SHOP IN A CHANGING SOCIETY HAS TO BE VERY SENSITIVE TO THAT

CHANGE OR ELSE HE IS SOON OUT OF BUSINESS BECAUSE HE CARRIES THE WRONG LINE OF GOODS OR TRIES TO SELL THE WRONG KIND OF GOODS TO PEOPLE WHO DON'T NEED IT ANYMORE." HE CONCLUDED THAT, " THERE ARE IMPORTANT WAYS IN WHICH BUSINESSMEN ARE SENSITIVE TO SOCIAL CHANGE, MORE SO THAN POLITICIANS, AND EVEN MORE SO THAT DOCTRINAIRE POLITICIANS, WHATEVER THEIR DOCTRINES MAY BE." I MIGHT ADD THAT VERY OFTEN THE AMBITIONS OR DOCTRINAL VIEWS OF POLITICIANS ARE CONTRIBUTING CAUSES TO CONFLICT, TENSIONS, AND INSTABILITY THAT BUSINESSMEN ARE LEFT TO COPE WITH AS BEST THEY CAN. YET, WHEN THE INVENTIVE SKILL OF POLITICAL LEADERS FALLS SHORT, IT IS USUALLY THE ECONOMIC SECTOR THAT THEY TURN TO FOR THE MEANS AND LEVERAGE TO CARRY ON THEIR DESIGNS.

IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, IT IS THE BUSINESSMAN WHO PROVIDES MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP AND ENTERPRISE THAT KEEPS THE ECONOMY MOVING AND PROVIDES PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT. YET THE BUSINESSMAN IN SOUTH AFRICA BEARS A DOUBLE BURDEN.

FIRST, HE WORKS IN A SOCIETY, DEFINED LARGELY IN ETHNIC TERMS, WHICH SUFFERS A WIDE GAP BETWEEN ONE PART THAT RANKS AMONG THE MOST WEALTHY AND ADVANCED IN THE WORLD AND ANOTHER WHICH IS AT OR NEAR THE SUBSISTENCE LEVEL. EXPANDING THE MARKET ECONOMY TO FILL THE AREA BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES IS IMMENSELY IMPORTANT BUT IMMENSELY DIFFICULT.

SECOND, IT IS THE BUSINESSMAN AT THE SAME TIME WHO EXPERIENCES  
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MOST DIRECTLY THE EFFECTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL ESTRANGEMENT FRO THE WESTERN INDUSTRIAL NATIONS WHICH HAVE TRADITIONALLY HAD THE STRONGEST LINKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY AND AFFORDED THE MAIN MARKETS FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S GOODS.

ONE OF THIS COUNTRY'S GROWING ASSESTS, I BELIEVE, IS THE SOCIAL AWARENESS OF ITS BUSINESS LEADERS. WHETHER ACTING TOGETHER, IN ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER, OR INDIVIDUALLY, AS MANAGERS AND EMPLOYERS, THEY ARE ADDRESSING THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL ISSUES FACING SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE OTHERS TALK ABOUT THE PROBLEMS, MANY OF YOU MUST DEAL WITH THE EVERY-DAY REALITIES INVOLVED IN CREATING JOBS, DECENT INCOMES AND LIVING CONDITIONS, TRAINING, AND WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PEOPLE WHO FORM THE MAJOR PART OF THIS COUNTRY'S POPULATION AND WORK FORCE. SIGNIFICANTLY, PERHAPS, MRE AND MORE BUSINESS LEADERS HAVE BEEN WILLING TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT POLITICAL POLICIES THAT THEY SEE AS INCOMPATIBLE WITH A STABLE FUTURE AND WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S IMAGE IN THE REAST OF THE WORLD.

A NUMBER OF THESE OBSERVATIONS ARE PERTINENT IN SOME DEGREE TO WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THIS AFTERNOON; THAT IS, SOME OF THE FACTORS AND ISSUES INVOLVED IN U.S. A- SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS.

IT IS NOT AN EASY TOPIC, BECAUSE IT IS NOT AN EASY RELATIONSHIP,  
BUT IT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE AND ONE THAT IS OFTEN DEALT WITH FAR  
TOO SIMPLISTICALLY ON BOTH SIDES. PERHAPS, GIVEN ITS COMPLEXITY,  
IT IS ONE THAT I SHOULD BE MORE HESITANT TO EMBARK UPON IN A SHORT  
PUBLIC SPEECH, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER SOME CLARIFICATIONS  
THAT MAY BE HELPFUL.

IT WOULD BE EASY PERHAPS TO CATALOG SPECIFIC EVENTS AND STAGES  
IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA OVER  
THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, BUT TO DO SO WOULD OVEREMPHASIZE  
THE IMPORTANCE OF SINGLE EVENTS AND OBSCURE GENERAL TRENDS AND  
DIRECTIONS. AS A CAREER OFFICER WHO HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN SOUTHER  
AFRICAN AFFAIRS UNDER BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS,  
I NOTE AN OCCASIONAL TENDENCY IN THIS COUNTRY TO PUT TOO MUCH  
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WEIGHT ON ASSUMED PERSONAL OR PARTY DIFFERENCES AMONG AMERICAN  
POLICY MAKERS. IT WOULD BE UNWISE, IN THIS REGARD, TO SEE ANY  
PARTICULAR AMERICAN ELECTION, PAST OR FUTURE, AS REPRESENTING,  
OR BEING LIKELY TO PRODUCE A FUNDAMENTAL TURN IN OUR RELATIONS.  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY-- ALTHOUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRE-  
ROGATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT-- IS A REFLECTION OF A MUCH BROADER  
POLITICAL SPECTRUM THAN SOME LOCAL COMMENTATORS  
MAY LIKE TO ACKNOWLEDGE.

WITH THIS IN MIND, LET ME TRY, IN AN UNEMOTIONAL WAY, BUT AS  
SOMEONE WHO CARES ABOUT THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA, TO DEFINE  
SOME OF MY COUNTRY'S ATTITUDES ON SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT  
RECEIVE A LOT OF ATTENTION HERE: THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA  
AND OUR INTEREST IN IT, HUMAN RIGHTS, COMMUNISM IN AFRICA, AND  
AMERICAN REACTIONS TO THE POLITICAL COURSE BEING PURSUED BY  
THIS COUNTRY.

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R 100756Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2041  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEWYORK  
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HAVING EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

LIFE-- INDEED IN THE LIFE OF ANY COUNTRY-- I WOULD LIKE TO REGISTER  
AN ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL POINT. THERE IS A TENDENCY AMONG BOTH THE  
PROponents AND THE CRITICS OF CLOSE U.S. - SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS TO

OVEREMPHASIZE THE ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC ASPECTS OF THAT RELATIONSHIP  
AND TO PORTRAY OUR INTERESTS IN EACH OTHER ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY  
IN THOSE TERMS. I BELIEVE THIS IS A MISTAKE THAT CAN LEAD TO  
MISUNDERSTANDING, EVEN TO THE POINT OF THE STERILE ARGUMENTS ONE  
SOMETIMES HEARS ABOUT ONE SIDE NEEDING THE OTHER MORE THAN THE OTHER  
NEEDS IT, AND VICE VERSA. WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, AND WITHOUT  
GAINSAING THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC FACTORS, I THINK SUCH ARGUMENTS  
MISS THE POINT. INDISPENSIBILITY IS A SHIFTING AND NONE-TOO-  
RELIABLE BASE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS.

WHAT SHOULD NOT BE LOST SIGHT OF IS THAT FOR COMPLEX HISTORICAL AND  
CULTURAL REASONS BEYOND THE CHOICE OF ANY OF ITS INHABITANTS, TODAY,  
SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COUNTRIES SURROUNDING IT ARE GRAPPLING WITH UN-  
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IQUE PROBLEMS IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS THAT HAVE THE POTENTIAL

OF INFLAMING THE FEARS AND PASSIONS OF SOCIETIES EVERYWHERE  
AROUND THE GLOBE. THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE COMPLICATED BY MANY OUTSIDE  
FACTORS, BUT NO MATTER HOW THEY MAY BE MANAGED OR EXPLOITED,  
THEY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO HAVE A BROADER WORLD  
IMPACT, EVEN IF ONLY PSYCHOLOGICAL, TOUCHING ON INTERESTS FAR BEYOND  
THOSE THAT ARE IMMEDIATELY APPARENT. WHAT HAPPENS IN THIS PART OF  
AFRICA THEREFORE CONCERNS US-- AND MAKES SOUTH AFRICA IMPORTANT-- FOR  
MUCH MORE THAN ECONOMIC REASONS.

I WAS QUITE TAKEN ABACK RECENTLY BY THE REACTION OF A LADY AT A  
DINNER PARTY WHEN I MENTIONED THAT WHITES ARE A MINORITY IN THIS  
WORLD. SHE DIDN'T BELIEVE ME. BUT NOT TO RECOGNIZE THIS FACT IS AS  
BAD AS BELIEVING IN A FLAT EARTH. NOT TO GIVE SOME PRIORITY TO  
RACIAL EQUALITY IN OUR CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FACE OF SUCH

FACTS IS TO WEAKEN THE BASE NECESSARY TO ASSURE BROAD HUMAN RIGHTS FOR POSTERITY.

I REALIZE THERE IS MUCH CRITICISM ABOUT AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENTS, BUT THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO HUMAN EQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IS NOT NEW AND HAS BEEN A RECURRING THEME EVER SINCE OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS WRITTEN. WE KNOW HOW HARD IT IS TO ACHIEVE FULL HUMAN RIGHTS. WE FOUGHT A BITTER CIVIL WAR OVER IT, THEN

FOR MANY YEARS FOOLED OURSELVES THAT A SEPARATE BUT QUAL THEORY COULD

RESOLVE THE ISSUE. WE ARE STILL STRUGGLING WITH THE PROBLEM, DISCOVERING NEW DIMENSIONS.

THE IDEA THAT OUR CONCERN WITH FREEDOM AND HUMAN WORTH SHOULD CARRY OVER INTO OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. IT IS TO BE FOUND IN THE UN CHARTER, IS IN THE

HELSINKI CONVENTION, AND HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF MOUNTING CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN, FIRST IN TERMS OF OUR AID PROGRAMS AND THEN WITH REGARD TO OTHER BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ARTICULATED AS POLICY AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAD COME-- THE FEELING HELD AMONG A BROAD SPECTRUM OF AMERICANS THAT THE U. S. CANNOT IGNORE ASSAULTS ON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS BUT SHOULD STRIVE TO ADJUST OUR ACTIONS ABROAD TO ACCORD WITH OUR VALUES AT HOME.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THIS HAS NOT SIMPLIFIED OUR DIPLOMACY. IT HAS COMPLICATED RELATIONS WITH MANY COUNTRIES: IRAN, THE PHILIPPINES, KOREA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND BRAZIL, TO NAME A FEW. CYNICS DERIDE OUR ASSUMED EXCESS OF IDEALISM OR CALL US HYPOCRITICAL BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS THAT REMAIN TO BE SOLVED AT HOME. BUT, IN FACT, WE HAVE RECEIVED MORE ENCOURAGEMENT THAN CONDEMNATION. WE HAVE HELPED BRING AN

URGENT MORAL ISSUE-- AS WELL AS SOME PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL DILEMMAS--INTO THE OPEN. GROSS VIOLATIONS OF POLITICAL RIGHTS, OPPRESSION OF DISSENTERS, AND UNBRIDLED POLICE ACTIONS ARE NOT LONGER LOOKED UPON BY THE WORLD AS UNCHALLENGEABLE, NORMAL BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENTS.

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R 100756Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
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THE WORLD IS FREQUENTLY ACCUSED OF GIVING UNDUE WEIGHT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS AGAINST THAT OF COUNTRIES LIKE RUSSIA, UGANDA, OR CAMBODIA. COMPARISONS OF WIDELY VARIED HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS ARE PROBLEMATIC AT BEST, CERTAINLY FOR THOSE WHOSE RIGHTS ARE ABRIDGED. THERE SHOULD BE CONCERN FOR VIOLATIONS WHEREVER THEY OCCUR; VIOLATIONS IN ONE PLACE, HOWEVER EXTREME, CANNOT EXCUSE THOSE SOMEWHERE ELSE. BUT SUCH CONCERN TENDS TO BE HEIGHTENED INTERNATIONALLY WHEN THE BASIC PROBLEM STEMS FROM OR IS AGGRAVATED BY A DIFFERENTIATION AMONG PEOPLE ON THE GROUNDS OF RACE, RELIGION, ETHNIC GROUP, NATIONALITY, OR SOME OTHER RELATIVELY PERMANENT SOCIAL DISTINCTION. THE FACT THAT SOUTH AFRICA OPENLY BASES ITS POLICIES ON RACIAL FACTORS AROUSES STRONG EMOTIONAL FEELINGS NEARLY EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. ITS TRADITIONAL FRIENDS AND TRADING PARTNERS IN THE WEST ARE INCREASINGLY DISTRESSED TO SEE SOUTH AFRICA ADHERING WITH VERY LITTLE CHANGE TO POLICIES WHICH THE WEST CAN NEVER SUPPORT AND WHICH SEEM DOOMED TO HAVE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES. PERHAPS THE WEST IS COMPARATIVELY MORE CRITICAL BECAUSE OF A BELIEF THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS PART OF THE WESTERN TRADITION

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AND COULD BE A POSITIVE FORCE IN THE WORLD, INSTEAD OF A TARGET OF CENSURE, IF IT COULD FIND A POLICY TO BRING ITS RACE TOGETHER IN HARMONY.

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA BEING A BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM IN AFRICA, BUT UNLESS IT CAN FIND THE WAY TO BE A POSITIVE FORCE BASED ON RACIAL HARMONY, THERE IS REASON TO QUESTION THIS ASSERTION. INDEED, IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO RUN THROUGH THAT THOUGHT

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PROVOKING EXERCISE OF IDENTIFYING WHICH FACTORS ARE PART OF THE SOLUTION AND WHICH ARE PART OF THE PROBLEM.

LET ME EXAMINE WITH YOU FOR A MOMENT THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE

COMMUNIST PRESENCE IN AFRICA. SHIPMENTS OF SOVIET ARMS AND LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN COMBAT TROOPS SERIOUSLY CONCERN US. THEY DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF AFRICA'S PROBLEMS BUT THREATEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES BY INTRODUCING OUTSIDE FORCES THAT COULD WIDEN CONFLICTS ON THE CONTINENT. IT IS ENCOURAGING TO SEE THAT THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES ARE BEGINNING TO SEE AND DISCUSS SOME OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED.

WE HAVE BEEN FACING COMMUNIST POWER AND INFLUENCE IN VARIOUS PLACES AROUND THE WORLD FOR WELL OVER 30 YEARS. WE THINK WE HAVE LEARNED A FEW THINGS ABOUT HOW THEY OPERATE. WE REFUSE TO SIMPLIFY EITHER THE PROBLEM OR THE SOLUTION, SINCE THE SOVIETS HAVE THEIR SUCCESSES, BUT THEY ALSO HAVE THEIR FAILURES. THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA ARE ACUTELY JEALOUS OF THEIR HARD-WON INDEPENDENCE. THE SOVIETS

MAY BE PREPARED TO SELL THEM ARMS OR TO FINANCE CUBAN MERCENARIES FOR A TIME, BUT THEY HAVE NOT SHOWN THEMSELVES FLEXIBLE OR ADEPT ENOUGH TO BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE DESTINY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS OVER THE LONG Haul. EVEN IN THE SHORT RUN SOME STRIKING DIFFERENCES BECOME UNCLASSIFIED

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APPARENT.

WHILE THE SOVIET UNION SHIPPED BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF ARMS TO AFRICA DURING 1977, IT WAS THE WEST WHICH IN JUNE 1978 DEVELOPED A BILLION DOLLAR AID AND CREDIT PACKAGE TO TIDE ZAMBIA OVER THE CRISIS BROUGHT ON BY LOW COPPER PRICES. IT IS THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO ARE NOW WORKING WITH ZAIRE TO HELP THAT COUNTRY WITH ITS MASSIVE DEBTS AND ECONOMIC DISLOCATION IN THE WAKE OF THE SHABA INVASION.

IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT AN APPROACH TO AFRICA THAT DOES NOT PANIC OVER TRANSIENT COMMUNIST SUCCESSES, BUT FOCUSES ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTAL RESPECT FOR NATIONALISM, AND SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS WILL PREVAIL OVER COMMUNIST ADVENTURISM. A PESSIMIST MAY ARGUE THAT THIS CAN HAPPEN ONLY OVER THE LONG RUN, BUT THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SUCH A PESSIMISTIC VIEW, FOR THE AFRICAN STATES SEEM CLEARLY TO SHOW THAT THEY CONTINUE TO VALUE BOTH THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND THE WESTERN CONNECTION.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IS INFLUENCED BY MANY OTHER FACTORS THAN SIMPLY OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, AND OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD

COMMUNISM. WE DO HAVE POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE REST OF AFRICA, WHOSE STATES FORM A THIRD OF THE UN COMMUNITY AND AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD. THEIR SUPPORT IS OFTEN IMPORTANT ON WORLD

ISSUES SUCH AS THE LAW OF THE SEA OR DISARMAMENT, AND WE SEEK TO WORK WITH THEM TO AVOID HARMFUL NORTH-SOUTH POLARIZATION. ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS ARE ALSO OF IMPORTANCE, QUITE BEYOND THE WELL KNOWN OIL AND TRADE RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE WITH NIGERIA.

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R 100756Z AUG 78  
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ESSENTIALLY, HOWEVER, THE STATE OF U.S.- SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WILL

BE DETERMINED MORE BY POLICIES AND EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN BY ANYTHING ELSE. ALTHOUGH CYNICS MAY ARGUE OTHERWISE, TAUNTING OUR WILL

,  
OUR MORAL DUPLICITY, OR OTHER ALLEGED WEAKNESSES, WE BELIEVE OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS COINCIDE WITH WHAT WE SEE AS MORAL IMPERATIVES. WE DO NOT THREATEN SOUTH AFRICA NOR DO WE OVERESTIMATE OUR CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS HERE. BUT, ALONG WITH M  
OST

OF THE WORLD, WE BELIEVE A POLICY THAT AIMS AT AN ULTIMATE SITUATION IN WHICH THERE WILL BE NO BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS CAN ONLY LEAD TO RESISTANCE, TO GREATER VIOLENCE, TO CONDITIONS OF CIVIL WAR AND REGIONAL CONFLICT, AND TO THE ULTIMATE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDE POWERS. OUR INTERESTS, AS WELL AS OUR BELIEFS, DICTATE THAT WE CANNOT DEFEND SUCH A SYSTEM. NOR CAN WE ACCEPT THAT THE PURPORTED CREATION OF NEW



STATES AND ALIENATED CITIZENS IS OF NO INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.  
THUS IT WAS THAT VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE MADE CLEAR IN VIENNA  
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LAST YEAR THAT THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE TO SEE A  
PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY AWAY FROM  
APARTHEID AND TOWARD FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH  
AFRICANS, IN THE ABSENCE OF WHICH HE PREDICTED THAT IT WOULD BE  
INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO MAINTAIN THE KINK OF CONSTRUCTIVE  
RELATIONS WE ENJOYED IN THE PAST AND WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE. THERE  
WAS NO ULTIMATUM OR PRESCRIPTION OF ANY KIND, AND THE VICE PRESIDENT  
SPECIFICALLY SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO GET INTO THE LISTING OF  
PARTICULAR STEPS, AS HE WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THE PRINCIPLES AND LONG  
TERM OBJECTIVES WE SEE AS CRUCIAL TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM. ALTHOUGH ONE

IS ENTERTAINED TO CONFLICTING REPORTS EITHER THAT THE U.S. HAS BACKED

DOWN FROM ITS ORIGINAL POSITION OR THAT IT IS OUT TO DESTROY SOUTH  
AFRICA AND FORCE THE WHITE POPULATION TO A SUICIDAL CHOICE, I CAN  
ASSURE YOU THAT NONE OF THESE CHARGES ARE TRUE. I BELIEVE OUR ACTIONS  
AND  
STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MODERATE AND RESTRAINED. MUCH HAS BEEN MADE OF  
OUR  
STRONG BELIEF THAT FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION TO BE MEANINGFUL  
MUST INCLUDE THE RIGHT TO VOTE. SOME BELIEVE THAT AMERICA IS  
DEMANDING THE IMPOSSIBLE FROM SOUTH AFRICA; THAT WE WOULD  
VIRTUALLY DICTATE MAJORITY RULE IN A UNITARY STATE OVERNIGHT.  
WHAT CAN ONE SAY? I HAVE NO CATECHISM FOR DEFINING OUR  
POLICY BUT CAN ONLY REITERATE THAT WE PRESCRIBED NO SPECIFIC  
ORGANIZATIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT, NO BLUEPRINT, UNITARY OR  
OTHERWISE, AND CITED NO TIMETABLE OTHER THAN NOTING THE URGENCY  
OF STARTING NOW TO END THE RACIALLY DISCRIMINATORY SYSTEM THE WORLD  
KNOWS AS APARTHEID AND TO MOVE TOWARD A SYSTEM THAT GIVES GENUINELY  
FULL AND EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL. OUTSIDERS CAN SET NO FORMULA FOR THIS;  
IT CAN ONLY BE FURMULATED BY AND AMONG THE PEOPLE WHO ARE  
INVOLVED-- ALL OF THEM.

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AMERICANS WHO KNOW THE UNIQUE COMPLEXITY OF THIS COUNTRY REALIZE THERE  
ARE NO SIMPLE OR EASY SOLUTIONS. YET THERE IS DEEP CONCERN THAT THE  
SENSITIVE PROBLEMS OF RACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS NOT BE IGNORED OR APPROACH-  
ED IN WAYS THAT MAKE MATTERS WORSE, THAT LEAD PEOPLE TO ENTERTAIN  
VIOLENCE OUT OF DESPERATION, OR THAT POLARIZE POSITIONS ON SUCH  
ISSUES OVER A MUCH WIDER AREA.

ONE ILLUSTRATION OF THIS STRONG FEELING WAS THE REACTION TO THE DEATH OF STEVE BIKO AND THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 19, LAST YEAR, WHICH CAUSED THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO PASS A RESOLUTION, BY A VOTE OF 347 TO 54, ASKING THE PRESIDENT TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION TO EXPRESS THE DEEP CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THIS SAME CONCERN WAS A MAJOR FACTOR BEHIND THE BROAD SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE IMPOSITION LAST NOVEMBER OF THE UN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

MORE RECENTLY, A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF ADDITIONAL RESTRAINTS ON U.S. RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC RELATIONS, HAVE BEEN AILED IN CONGRESS, SOME OF THEM LINKED TO FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRINCIPLES. WHILE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS CONTINUED ITS POLICY OF NEITHER ENCOURAGING NOR DISCOURAGING AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE BELIEVE THAT U.S. SUBSIDIARIES AND AFFILIATES HERE CAN MAKE A SUEFUL CONTRIBUTION BY IMPROVING THEIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND STEPPING UP THEIR EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STANDING OF NON-WHITE GROUPS. WHILE THIS IS VERY MUCH AN ONGOING PROCESS, I WAS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT A RECENT PRIVATE SURVEY HERE FOUND THAT AMERICAN FIRMS ARE CURRENTLY IN THE LEAD WITH RESPECT TO REMOVING DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN THE WORK PLACE. I HOPE THEY WILL HAVE TO KEEP WORKING HARD TO STAY IN THE LEAD.

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

UNCLAS FINALS SECTION 5 OF 5 PRETORIA 4597

TO GIVE RECOGNITION WHERE IT IS DUE, I BELIEVE MANY EMPLOYERS DESERVE SPECIAL CREDIT FOR POSITIVE ACTIONS TAKEN IN THE LAST FEW

YEARS TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN ATTITUDE AND TREATMENT TOWARD THEIR NON-WHITE EMPLOYEES. CREDIT ALSO NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO THEM FOR SUPPORTING NEW ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE URBAN FOUNDATION, AS WELL AS OLDER ORGANIZATIONS AND CHURCH GROUPS THAT OFTEN PREFER ANONIMITY. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO ASSUME, HOWEVER, THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S REPUTATION IN THE WORLD COULD BE RESTORED BY THE EFFORTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR ALONE, NO MATTER HOW MEANINGFUL SUCH EFFORTS MAY BE IN TERMS OF WAGES , WORKING CONDITIONS, HOUSING, OR HUMAN DIGNITY. THERE MUST ALSO BE RECOGNITION ON AN OFFICIAL LEVEL THAT ALL OF THIS COUNTRY'S PEOPLE NEED TO BE ACCEPTED AS FULL PARTICIPANTS IN DEVELOPING ITS GREAT POTENTIAL. SO LONG AS POLITICAL- LEGAL RESTRICTIONS PROHIBIT THE HUMANE SOLUTION OF A HUMAN TRAGEDY LIKE CROSSROADS ( THE TRAGEDY BEING NOT THE EXISTENCE OF SLUMS BUT THE THREAT OF DEMOLITION AND FAMILY SEPARATION), THEN CRITICISM WILL BE HARD TO STEM.

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WHILE THE OUTWARD SIGNS MAY NOT BE PROPITIOUS, WE REJECT THE IDEA THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE DEALT WITH BY CONFRONTATION AND VIOLENCE. THE INITIAL STEPS TOWARD A PEACEFUL POLITICAL TRANSITION IN NAMIBIA SHOW US THAT WITH HARD WORK AND DETERMINATION THE DIVISIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE NOT IRREPARABLE. THE START THAT HAS BEEN MADE TO FIND A POLITICAL SOLUTION

IN NAMIBIA SUGGEST THAT A SOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS IS NOT BEYOND MAN'S INGENUITY. THE RESPONSIBLE AND STATEMANLIKE CONTRIBUTION OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN SUPPORT OF THE WESTERN INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA ALSO SUGGESTS THAT PROGRESS HERE WOULD NOT GO UNRECOGNIZED.

I HAVE TRIED TO GIVE YOU A CANDID PICTURE OF HOW THE U.S. VIEWS SOME OF THE PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CLEARLY ONE OF THE TROUBLED AREAS OF WORLD ATTENTION. I WOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN THE LIMITS ON OUR INFLUENCE IN THIS AREA, AND NOTE THAT OUR POLICIES TOWARD YOUR COUNTRY ARE NOT INTENDED TO BE PUNITIVE OR HARMFUL. AS YOUR PRIME MINISTER SAID TO AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN HERE LAST YEAR, WE HAVE BEEN DRIFTING APART. YET THERE REMAIN IMPORTANT AREAS OF COMMON INTERESTS, FOREMOST OF WHICH IS THE DESIRE TO SEE A PEACEABLE OUTCOME TO THE TENSIONS THAT NOW AFFLICT THIS PART OF THE CONTINENT. THE APPROACH YOU ADOPT TO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GROUPS IN YOUR COUNTRY IS FOR YOU AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THOSE GROUPS TO DECIDE. WE HOPE THAT A COURSE WILL BE FOLLOWED THAT WILL ENABLE US TO BE SUPPORTIVE AND HELPFUL, FOR WE WOULD TRULY LIKE TO SEE ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY ACHIEVING THE FULL MEASURE OF WELL-BEING AND PROSPERITY THAT SHOULD FLOW FROM THE TREMENDOUS HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES THAT THEY SHARE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END TEXT.  
EDMONDSON  
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## Message Attributes

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Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
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